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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
AND FIFTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 28 February 1992, at 10.30 a.m.

President:	Mr. PICKERING	(United States of America)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. van DAELE
	Cape Verde	Mr. BARBOSA
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. ZENENGA

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The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON CAMBODIA (S/23613 and Add.1)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/23613 and Add.1, containing the text of a report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia. Members of the Council also have before them document S/23651, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, China, Ecuador, France, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 745 (1992).

I now call on the Secretary-General, who has indicated to me that he wishes to make a statement.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL (interpretation from French): One week after the adoption of resolution 743 (1992) on Yugoslavia, the Security Council has just adopted resolution 745 (1992) and, in so doing, has adopted a draft of capital importance, both for the country concerned and for the United Nations.

The Agreements providing for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict signed in Paris on 23 October 1991 called upon the Security Council to establish a United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). That Authority is entrusted with a sensitive and difficult mission, that of putting an end to two decades of war, destruction, suffering and massacres, and of establishing conditions for a lasting peace that can lead the Cambodian people to free and democratic elections.

The implementation plan for this operation is contained in report S/23613 and has been submitted to the Security Council, as has addendum 1 to the report, containing preliminary estimates of the administrative and financial implications of the plan. The plan may appear ambitious, and its cost rather worrying; however, it merely translates into operational terms the many-faceted and, in some ways, unprecedented mandate conceived by the authors

(The Secretary-General)

of the Paris Agreements and unanimously endorsed both by the Security Council and by the General Assembly.

It is on the basis of the mandate given under the Paris Agreements that the implementation plan submitted to the Security Council proposes that UNTAC be endowed with a structure comprising seven distinct components covering the following areas: human rights; elections; military arrangements; civil administration; policing; repatriation of refugees and displaced persons; and assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia during the transitional period. The proposals set out in my report to the Security Council are also based on information gathered by a number of United Nations missions, in particular those that went to Cambodia during the last three months of 1991.

The proposals were prepared out of a concern to achieve the most rapid deployment possible of UNTAC and to hold elections in the latter part of April or early in May 1993, that is to say, before the rainy season. That date corresponds to the wishes both of the Cambodians and of the international community; it is therefore a major political imperative, and I wish to assure members of the Security Council that everything will be done to hold to that timetable and to carry out in full the mandate entrusted to UNTAC.

It will, however, be necessary to show some measure of flexibility in the conduct of this operation: the hypotheses set out in the report before the Council are based on information that cannot be considered definitive or complete. They must therefore be reviewed in the light of experience and in the light of the situation in the field. My special representative will see to it that the deployment of the various components of UNTAC is carried out

(The Secretary-General)

according to a precise plan, taking into account the tasks to be carried out in each phase of the operation, and providing for optimal use of resources.

For my part, I shall not fail to report to the Council at regular intervals on the progress achieved in implementing the operation, and to propose to the Council any adjustments that may enhance its effectiveness and its cost-effectiveness. I intend to visit Cambodia myself during April in order to examine personally how the whole operation is progressing in the field.

I would stress, however, that UNTAC will be able to discharge its responsibilities effectively only to the extent that it has available the necessary human and financial resources. The scope and scale of this operation require that those resources be available in full by the times imposed by the implementation timetable. In this respect, I am grateful to the Member States for their unanimous acceptance of my proposal to authorize the allocation of an initial tranche of $200 million in contributions to enable the Secretariat to begin without delay the necessary preparations for the implementation of UNTAC.

(The Secretary-General)

It is my earnest hope that, as has been agreed, those credits will be available in the days to come. Preparation and discussion of UNTAC's complete budget can then take place according to the procedures now in force. I have no doubt that this process will proceed in a positive, constructive spirit in order to lay, to the greatest extent possible, the necessary foundations for the success of this operation.

I should also like to say that UNTAC's success also depends, and depends primarily, on the full cooperation of the Cambodian parties and all the other parties concerned. They must all scrupulously respect the commitments they freely entered into with the adoption of the Paris Agreements. In that connection, the Supreme National Council will have a central role to play, under the wise guidance of its Chairman, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Of course, the Supreme National Council embodies the sovereignty of Cambodia during the transitional period. But it should also become the framework and the instrument for a genuine, deep-rooted national reconciliation, based on concern for the best interests of Cambodia and for its long-suffering people. Only under those conditions will the Supreme National Council be able fully to shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to it by the Paris Agreements and thus contribute to the creation of a climate of harmony, peace and trust, which is necessary for their effective implementation.

It is essential that throughout this process the Cambodians and the international community as a whole should feel, without the slightest doubt, that the Security Council is united and resolute in its consistent support for UNTAC. This operation gives us a historic opportunity to restore peace to Cambodia and to contribute to the advent of a new era in South-East Asia and in international relations.

(The Secretary-General)

In the final analysis the fate of this operation, this noble enterprise, will depend on the collective will to carry it to a successful conclusion.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Secretary-General for his helpful, informative and positive statement concerning the largest, and certainly one of the most important and complex, United Nations peace-keeping activities ever to be undertaken.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): On 23 October 1991 the States participating in the Paris Conference signed Agreements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict. Those Agreements, which brought to an end 20 years of war and tragedy in that country, gave the United Nations a major and unprecedented role. For the first time our Organization is at once entrusted with organizing and carrying out the election of a constituent assembly, monitoring military aspects of the settlement, ensuring repatriation of refugees and displaced persons, promoting human rights and initiating reconstruction of the country. To carry out that mandate, the Agreements provided for the creation of a United Nations transitional authority in Cambodia, which will carry out its functions in close liaison with the Supreme National Council of Cambodia, presided over by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk.

On 19 February the Secretary-General submitted to the members of the Council a report containing his plan to implement the Paris Agreements. In adopting resolution 745 (1992) the Security Council has just approved that report and officially decided to create the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). It has initiated the most important and complete operation ever undertaken by the United Nations in the maintenance of peace.

(Mr. Merimee, France)

In paragraph 4, the resolution requests the Secretary-General to deploy UNTAC as rapidly as possible.

The United Nations is already represented in Cambodia. Resolution 717 (1991) created the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC), entrusted with contributing to respect for the cease-fire and initiating a programme to make people aware of the dangers of mines. That mandate was recently enlarged, by resolution 728 (1992), to include mine-clearance operations. My delegation pays tribute to the members of UNAMIC, who have contributed greatly to consolidating reconciliation between Cambodians and overcoming the difficulties that have arisen.

However, it is urgently necessary today to move on to the next phase. The deployment of UNTAC responds to the urgent desires of Cambodians. Everyone is aware of the need to make the best use of the time remaining before the rainy season. Any delay would be very harmful. As resolution 745 (1992) reminds us, it is vital that elections be held by May 1993 at the latest. We welcome the assurances the Secretary-General has just given in that regard.

In his report the Secretary-General stresses the conditions which in his view must be met for the operation to succeed. I should like further to emphasize two of them.

First, UNTAC must have the full cooperation of all the parties concerned - above all, of the Cambodians as a whole. That cooperation is indispensable for the security of the members of UNTAC. In that regard, the highly regrettable attack of 25 February on a helicopter of UNAMIC is very disturbing. Cooperation is also indispensable for the success of the United Nations operation. It is in that spirit that the Agreements reserve a leading

(Mr. Merimee, France)

role for the Supreme National Council. Here I pay tribute to His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk, who presides over the Council with such authority and ability and who, better than anyone, embodies the spirit of dialogue and reconciliation between Cambodians.

Secondly, UNTAC should be given adequate financial resources. We know that the needs will be great. We are also aware of the difficulties that Member States will face in providing resources on that scale at a time when peace-keeping operations are multiplying. That is why my delegation puts particular emphasis on the need to achieve the best possible cost-effectiveness.

I thank the Secretary-General for the high quality of the work done in preparing his report to the Security Council. I also congratulate Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed - everyone knows the role he played in preparing the Agreements - and Mr. Yasushi Akashi, who plays an essential role as Special Representative.

With the decision the Council has just taken, we are now truly engaged on implementing the Agreements. France, especially as Co-President of the Paris Conference, has spared no effort to bring this about, in close cooperation with the Indonesian Co-President, the Cambodians and all the other members of the Conference. France intends to make an active contribution to the success of the United Nations plan, which will consolidate the restoration of peace in Cambodia and prepare for that country's future.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): On behalf of the British Government, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his fine report and for the months of work it represents by United Nations officials, under the able guidance first of Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed and more recently of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi. The Secretary-General's report sets out a full and faithful plan of implementation of the Agreements signed in Paris last October. I pay tribute to the French and Indonesian Governments for their initiative in convening the Paris Conference on Cambodia and to all those Governments that contributed to its work. It is invidious to single out one, but I should like, nevertheless, to mention the Australian Government, which recognized at an early stage the scope for a United Nations role in implementing a political settlement in Cambodia.

My own Government has been very closely involved in this work from the beginning. It was the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, who proposed, in 1988, that the permanent members of this Council should help in the search for peace in Cambodia. This led to the New York framework agreement of 28 August 1990, which became the basis for the Paris Agreements.

Since the Paris Agreements were signed, the United Kingdom has taken a number of steps. We have opened a diplomatic mission in Phnom Penh, headed by an experienced Ambassador, whose principal task is to help implement the Agreements. We have contributed observers and mine-clearance experts to the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia. We have so far pledged £2 million to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) towards the costs of repatriating people in the camps along the Thai-Cambodian border. We also plan to contribute more than £11 million over the next three

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

years to support humanitarian activities by international organizations inside Cambodia. In allocating this money, priority will be given to water and health projects. The sum of £750,000 has already been provided for the World Food Programme to help displaced persons in Cambodia, and we plan to continue our support for British non-governmental organizations operating in Cambodia and to establish in-country English-language training facilities for Cambodian officials.

Given the extent of our commitment to a settlement in Cambodia, my Government is delighted that the Council has now adopted a resolution establishing the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). UNTAC is one of the keys to the successful implementation of the Paris Agreements. Its task will be the most ambitious the United Nations has ever undertaken. Its goal is to permit the Cambodian people to exercise their right to self-determination and to elect, freely and in peace, a democratic Government. This will bring to an end many years of tragedy and tyranny in Cambodia. Peace in Cambodia will benefit not only the Cambodians, but also the peoples of Indochina and of South-East Asia generally.

The other key to success is the leadership of the various parties in Cambodia and the long-suffering people of that country, because we have to recognize that no external force, however well-meaning, however objective, can on its own bring peace, prosperity and democracy to Cambodia. Without the active support and cooperation of all Cambodians the United Nations will not succeed. In this context, the leadership already being given by Prince Sihanouk is of fundamental importance.

(Sir David Hannay,
United Kingdom)

The Secretary-General has rightly underlined in his report the need to stick to the target date of April or May 1993 for the holding of elections in Cambodia. I very much welcomed his reiteration of that point in his statement this morning. If this date were to slip, there would be great danger that the settlement plan would unravel. The Secretary-General has also given his clear view that full demobilization of military forces before the elections would be greatly preferable to the 70 per cent demobilization to which the parties are already committed, and my Government fully supports this view. We also endorse the four conditions for the success of UNTAC set out by the Secretary-General in the last paragraph of his report, namely, that UNTAC must have the full support of the Council, full cooperation from all parties concerned and full freedom of movement and communication, and that Member States must provide the necessary financial resources in full and on time.

My Government welcomes the fact that the General Assembly has already approved an initial appropriation of $200 million for UNTAC. This will enable the operation to begin to deploy immediately, which is vital if it is to keep to the timetable that is so important to its success. It will also give the Secretariat and Member States a few weeks in which to consider in detail the very complex financial aspects of this enormous operation. All Members of the United Nations have an interest in ensuring that this largest-ever United Nations operation is carried out not only successfully but also cost-effectively.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I am confident that with your diplomatic

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

talent and rich experience you will continue successfully to guide the Council's work for this month. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, Ambassador David Hannay, who has left a deep impression on us for the efficient and exceptional manner in which he led the Council to fulfil its work last month.

The unanimous adoption by the Security Council today of the resolution on the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) marks a new stage in the process towards the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. This progress is being made through the protracted and concerted efforts of the international community and the various Cambodian parties. We should like to thank the Secretary-General, the Co-Presidents of the Paris Conference and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations for their unswerving efforts. We also wish to extend our thanks and congratulations to all members of the Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC), led by Prince Sihanouk and the Cambodian people. At the same time, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Yasushi Akashi for his appointment as Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the Cambodian question and to thank Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed for the considerable work he has done.

The Paris Agreements are the hard-earned outcome of the various parties' joint endeavour. We hope that the adoption of this resolution will lay a solid foundation for the reconciliation of the four Cambodian parties and for the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements. The Security Council, as the primary organ for the maintenance of world peace and security, has the obligation to safeguard the Paris Agreements, support the efforts for national reconciliation made by the SNC, under the leadership of

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

Prince Sihanouk, and ensure strict observance of the Agreements by the various Cambodian parties and the countries concerned. We hope that with the adoption of this resolution UNTAC will be deployed in Cambodia as soon as possible and start its work in all areas.

We are fully aware that the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question is a complex process, and there will be difficulties even in the last stage. However, we should also realize that initial progress has been made in the implementation of the Paris Agreements, with the gradual unfolding of the work of the SNC and the establishment of the role and functions of the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia. The settlement of the Cambodian question reflects the trend of the times and the desire of the people, and is therefore irreversible. The international community ardently hopes to see an early return of an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia to the world family. This will contribute to peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world as a whole. The unanimous adoption of this resolution indicates that the current world situation is extremely favourable for the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements. We sincerely hope that the various Cambodian parties will seize the opportunity, overcome difficulties, proceed from their overall national interest, set aside their past grievances and cooperate closely with UNTAC to ensure the smooth performance of the various tasks during the transitional period. The Chinese Government is willing to work with the countries concerned to speed up the deployment of UNTAC in Cambodia, promote strict implementation of the Paris Agreements by the various parties and accelerate the process of comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

In recent years the United Nations has won wide-ranging acclaim as it continues to play an important role in the maintenance of world peace and security and the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. At the same time, many countries have expressed their deep concern over the rapid increase of United Nations expenditure on peace-keeping operations. We hope that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia will fulfil its tasks in the most economical and effective way. We therefore welcome and support the Secretariat's adoption of economical measures on the premise of ensuring the fulfilment of the various tasks contained in the Paris Agreements.

In conclusion, we should like to voice the hope that in the implementation of this resolution the Secretariat will maintain close consultations with the permanent members of the Security Council and all countries concerned.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): I am very pleased that the Security Council has just adopted the resolution to establish the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). This resolution is of historic significance to Cambodia and, indeed, to the United Nations.

Thanks to the efforts by the Cambodians themselves, as well as by the international community as a whole, the Agreements on a comprehensive political settlement in Cambodia were signed in Paris last October. Since then, efforts have been made by the Supreme National Council, under the chairmanship of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) to implement the provisions of the Paris Agreements; and now stability appears to have been restored to the country.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

With the adoption of this resolution calling for the deployment of UNTAC, the process of peace and national reconciliation will be further advanced to a new and important stage.

The resolution is also of great significance to the United Nations itself, which has long been an active participant in the Cambodian peace process. Through the activities of UNAMIC the United Nations has been instrumental in maintaining the cease-fire, clearing mines in Cambodia and paving the way for the establishment of UNTAC. Through UNTAC, which is an operation on a scale unprecedented in the history of the Organization, the United Nations will play an even greater role in efforts to realize fully a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian conflict.

The challenges inherent in launching UNTAC are enormous. The tasks ahead of us will not be easy. My delegation is confident, however, that with the wisdom and skill of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, and many others concerned, those challenges will be successfully weathered and free and fair elections will be held on schedule. In this context it is hoped that close coordination and cooperation among all parties involved, as well as optimum efficiency in resource utilization, will be ensured.

In the coming months the Security Council will be monitoring and reviewing developments in Cambodia, the deployment of UNTAC and its activities in the field. I wish to reaffirm my country's commitment to the United Nations effort in Cambodia. Japan, together with other countries, is determined to extend its full cooperation with and support for UNTAC for the success of its operation.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Russian Federation would like to express its profound satisfaction at the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which represents an important landmark in the cause of a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian conflict.

The decision to establish the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) on the basis of the Secretary-General's plan to implement the mandate entrusted to the United Nations in accordance with the Paris Agreements marks the beginning of one of the largest peace-keeping operations in the history of the Organization.

We fully share the Secretary-General's view that the success of UNTAC will depend primarily on the degree of cooperation evidenced by the Cambodian parties. It is obvious that the operation's success will, in the last analysis, be determined not by how many "blue helmets" and other United Nations representatives are sent to Cambodia but by how durable and lasting the process of national reconciliation and agreement in that country will be and by how harmoniously the seeds of respect for democracy and human rights sown there will sprout.

In the resolution the Council adopted today, as well as in the statement by the Secretary-General, note is rightly taken of the special role in this process of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Supreme National Council of Cambodia he heads, which is promoting an awareness by all Cambodians of the responsibility incumbent upon them. Isolated incidents and setbacks should not impede progress towards the most important objectives of the operation that lies ahead.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

We believe that the Cambodian parties will respond to the appeal of the United Nations Secretary-General and the Security Council for the full demobilization of their armed forces and the destruction of accumulated stockpiles of weapons and that they will abide strictly by the commitments they have undertaken, including those to render all necessary assistance to UNTAC.

Of course, the guarantee of the operation's success lies in strict compliance with the spirit and letter of the Paris Agreements by all the parties involved. On the whole, we are satisfied with their implemention thus far. Here, considerable credit is owed the small but effective and capable United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia.

In light of the varied tasks that are now facing the United Nations, as well as of the Organization's financial position, we believe that particular attention should be given the need to carry out the operations of UNTAC in the most effective and economical manner. We believe that the Secretariat's preliminary calculations of possible UNTAC expenditures will be substantively reduced. The idea expressed in the Secretary-General's statement of flexibility in the practical implementation of the UNTAC plan is, in our view, a reliable way to achieve such reductions. We firmly support the Secretary-General's intention to find the most rational ways of utilizing existing resources to resolve the problems facing UNTAC, thus allowing for a reduction in the operation's cost without detriment to its effectiveness.

The provisions of the resolution concerning the Secretary-General's periodic reports to the Security Council and review of the UNTAC plan in light of the real situation in Cambodia and practical implementation of the operation are aimed at achieving that very goal.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

As today's resolution stresses, the speedy deployment of UNTAC in Cambodia should focus on holding elections in that country no later than May 1993; we welcome the Secretary-General's determination, as expressed in his statement today, to achieve that goal by that date.

I take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to the Secretary-General, to Mr. Ahmed, and to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Cambodia, Mr. Akashi, as well as to the other Secretariat staff members, who have done a great deal of serious work to prepare the United Nations operations in Cambodia.

I wish also to wish Mr. Boutros-Ghali and his Special Representative for Cambodia, Mr. Akashi, success in implementing the mandate the Security Council has entrusted to UNTAC. The Secretary-General today declared his intention to visit Cambodia in April; this will undoubtedly promote the effective implementation of that mandate.

We are convinced that, with our joint support, the operation in Cambodia will provide further compelling proof that the United Nations is a unique instrument for the maintenance of international peace, and that with its assistance even long-standing conflicts can be settled on the basis of national reconciliation and responsibility by all parties concerned, and ensuring that the will of the people is expressed through free, democratic elections.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): The unanimous adoption of resolution 745 (1992) a few minutes ago established the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), the most comprehensive operation in the history of the United Nations. The considerable size of its personnel might seem impressive, but it only reflects the vast tasks that have to be carried out by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. The mandate includes aspects relating to human rights, the organization and conduct of free and fair general elections, civil administration, the maintenance of law and order, military arrangements, the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons, and the rehabilitation of essential infrastructure.

This operation emphasizes that the United Nations involvement in peace-keeping has outgrown by far the traditional mere interposition of "blue berets" between hostile armed forces. The increased trust in the United Nations brings about a stronger role and a more comprehensive involvement in the restoration and maintenance of peace. Austria has no doubt that the implementation of the resolution will be a most challenging endeavour, but we are convinced that, under the excellent leadership of Under-Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi, UNTAC will be most efficiently directed to overcome all difficulties. It will be up to the Member States to support UNTAC by bearing their responsibilities and, in particular, by meeting their financial obligations on time.

Today an important step towards the implementation of the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia conflict has been taken. After more than two decades of utmost suffering, the Cambodian people finally has the prospect of a better future in peace and democracy. That goal can be reached only with the cooperation of all Cambodians with UNTAC. We believe

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

that the Supreme National Council, under the presidency of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is well aware of its historic responsibility.

In concluding, I should like to express our appreciation to all those who have spared no effort to bring about a just and durable settlement to the Cambodia conflict, both on the political level and by practical deeds - such as the personnel of the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia, among them Austrians.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): The efforts of the Secretary-General and his representatives, Mr. Ahmed and Mr. Akashi, to organize the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) deserve our greatest admiration and appreciation.

Just 20 years ago, in March 1972, Prince Sihanouk was expelled from Phnom Penh. Thus began a seemingly interminable civil war that has cost the lives of one sixth of Cambodia's population. The Paris Agreements, promoted with the effective participation of the permanent members of the Security Council, have made it possible to bring to an end that cruel confrontation. With all their limitations, those Agreements still undoubtedly represent the only hope of guaranteeing peace and security in Cambodia, where crimes against humanity and genocide have only one precedent in modern history: the Nazi atrocities.

It is no accident that UNTAC's mission to pacify and rehabilitate Cambodia is the largest in the history of the United Nations: it was dictated by the magnitude of that country's tragedy. This is the beginning of a process of weapons destruction, disarmament, repatriation of hundreds of thousands of people from the border with Thailand and the establishment of civil administration; this should culminate in free elections that will

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

finally bring to Cambodia political pluralism, an essential condition if peace and order are to last.

The role of the United Nations is and has been central, but it is clear that only an unrestricted willingness by the Cambodian people and their leaders will make it possible to reach the goals proposed in the resolution the Security Council adopted unanimously today.

My delegation takes this opportunity to acknowledge the active role played by Japan in the run-up to the peace process that brought about the first cease-fire following the Tokyo meeting of June 1991, and Japan's willingness to cooperate in the process of reconstruction.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): We wish to pay a tribute to all those - to the Secretary-General, to Mr. Ahmed and to Mr. Akashi and their staffs, as well as to many Governments - who spared no effort to achieve today's result. I wish in particular to congratulate Mr. Akashi on having been named the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cambodia. I assure him of the full cooperation of my Government as he carries out his numerous difficult tasks.

The report of the Secretary-General on Cambodia, dated 19 February 1992, forms the basis of the resolution the Council has just adopted on the establishment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. For more than a decade the United Nations and its Security Council have been trying to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Cambodia. After long years during which war, horrific displays of intolerance, destruction and suffering have ravaged Cambodia, Hungary was pleased to note the signing in Paris last October of the agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict in Cambodia. Those Agreements, for which the Council has

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

expressed its full support, have opened the way for the most ambitious and complex operation ever undertaken by the United Nations.

In the light of the positive changes on the international scene, the world Organization is in an even better position effectively to meet these challenges, which pose a threat to international peace and security. The Cambodian operation is a tangible example of this.

(Mr. Erdos, Hungary)

The signing of the Paris Agreements has provided an historic opportunity for genuine national reconciliation in Cambodia. It must be successfully concluded by all of the Cambodians themselves, under the guidance of the National Supreme Council and with the active participation of all sectors of Cambodian society. Hungary welcomes the adoption of the resolution on the establishment of UNTAC. It is ready to make its contribution to the reconciliation of all Cambodians, to the protection of democratic values and human rights, and to the implementation of the right of the Cambodian people to self-determination through free and fair elections.

We sincerely hope that all those concerned by the United Nations action will take stock of the promising possibilities it thus affords and will allow the Cambodian people to leave behind their bloody past and to embark on a new era of peace, stability, justice and well-being in their country and throughout South-East Asia. At the same time, we cannot forget the recent tragic history of Cambodia and thus allow the policy and practices of the past to re-emerge in that battered country.

In emphasizing the importance we attach to having all Cambodians provide the necessary assistance to UNTAC in the implementation of its mandate according to the established timetable, we reiterate the full readiness of the Hungarian Government to cooperate actively both in the operations carried out within the framework of UNTAC and in the work of rebuilding Cambodia.

Mr. GHAREKHAN (India): May I at the outset convey our appreciation to you, Mr. President, for the great ability and courtesy with which you have marked your presidency of the Council for the current month. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the diligence and ability with which the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

presided over our deliberations in January - a month which was one of extraordinary activity for the Security Council.

It gives my delegation great satisfaction to note the adoption of resolution 745 (1992) on Cambodia, which has just been unanimously adopted, establishing the United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) for that country. This marks the culmination of a long and difficult process of negotiations in which my country had the privilege to participate and of which the high point came in the signing of the Agreements at Paris in October last year. The Co-Presidents of the Paris Conference, as well the representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, deserve our praise for their painstaking efforts, which laid the foundations for further action.

Conscious as we are that ultimately the destiny of Cambodia lies in the hands of the Cambodian people, I should like to place on record India's sincere tribute to and deep appreciation of the vital role played by His Royal Highness Samdech Sihanouk, Chairman of the Supreme National Council, in showing the way to national reconciliation. We would urge all Cambodian parties to extend their fullest cooperation to UNTAC in carrying out its work.

For the United Nations, this will be the largest peace-keeping operation ever ventured upon - large not only in terms of personnel and the cost involved but also in the broad sweep of the mandate which has been given to UNTAC. I take this opportunity to express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts, his comprehensive report, and his important statement to us this morning. It is in the fitness of things that the Secretary-General has named a person to be his Special Representative for Cambodia who has the qualities and experience necessary to oversee such a vast

(Mr. Gharekhan, India)

and complex operation. Our good wishes will be with Mr. Yasushi Akashi as he works to bring the task of UNTAC to a successful conclusion.

The historical and cultural links that India has with Cambodia are an additional reason for our supporting the operations of the United Nations in Cambodia in all possible ways. We stand ready to extend our fullest support to UNTAC and to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in their various responsibilities, and also to contribute to the rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts.

Some concern has been voiced at the extent and cost of the peace-keeping operations in Cambodia. We fully share the view that the operation should be made as cost-effective and economical as possible given the extensive mandate entrusted to UNTAC not only for peace-keeping but also for the organization and conduct of elections and the repatriation and reintegration of thousands of refugees, displaced persons and demobilized soldiers.

At the same time, however, we would like to take this opportunity to remind ourselves that this operation is being launched on behalf of a country and a people that have suffered immensely and have been subjected to horrors and miseries which have few parallels in history. If UNTAC succeeds - as we all hope it will - in restoring peace, tranquillity and national reconciliation to this much-troubled land, the cost will have justified itself. An independent, sovereign and non-aligned Cambodia will, I am confident, make a significant contribution to peace and stability in Indo-China and in the world as a whole.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of India for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. van DAELE (Belgium) (interpretation from French): At the outset, I should like sincerely to thank the Secretary-General for the report he has submitted for our approval. We are all aware of the amount of work and effort such a document represents for him and his associates, first and foremost among whom I should like to congratulate Mr. Ahmed and Mr. Akashi.

The report presented to us by the Secretary-General is characterized above all by its wide-ranging nature. For that matter, it could hardly be otherwise, since the Secretary-General's plan forms the translation into operational terms of the Paris Agreements. Moreover, the Secretary-General must somehow, I might say, predict the unpredictable. He frankly recognizes in his introduction that the information found in his report is not necessarily complete and that the evaluations concerning the priorities and deployment of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) may not be precise, given the development of the situation in Cambodia.

This therefore means that the Council will have to follow very closely the course of the United Nations operation in Cambodia; hence the need for the Secretary-General to submit to the Council frequent and regular reports. If necessary, the Council can proceed to adjustments or to a reworking of the plan. This is clearly found in operative paragraphs 1, 4 and 10 of the resolution which we have just adopted.

Given the magnitude of the objectives the Council is assigning to UNTAC, and given the conditions prevailing in Cambodia - I am thinking in particular of the decimation of the population, the nearly total absence of infrastructure, and the climatic conditions - the UNTAC budget can but be significant. However, while wishing to retain the effectiveness of the plan,

(Mr. van Daele, Belgium)

Belgium believes nevertheless that this budget should be subject to close scrutiny at all times and that each expenditure should be calculated most scrupulously.

Periodic revisions of the plan concerning its substance should provide an opportunity for review and later for budgetary readjustments with full respect, of course, for the competence of the General Assembly.

To maintain the UNTAC budget within its limits, which are already quite broad, we will need, in our view, to attach particular attention to two elements. First, there is a need for scrupulous respect of the timetable laid down. Given the climatic conditions to which I have already referred, any delay in the implementation of the plan is likely to involve unexpected difficulties whose costs could turn out to be extremely high.

(Mr. van Daele, Belgium)

Secondly, rather than demilitarizing the Cambodian parties to the extent of 70 per cent, as provided for by the Paris Agreements, our resolution recommends - and rightly so, we believe - that there be a total demobilization. Such a solution, which, moreover, was proposed by the Secretary-General, would be not only easier to verify, and therefore less costly, but would also be a confidence-building measure on the part of the parties and would therefore facilitate, in time, the reconstitution of a Cambodian national army.

There is another point on which I must dwell. My delegation is somewhat concerned over the very slow start to the mine-clearance operation in Cambodia. The delay that has already occurred here makes the deployment of the military elements of UNTAC before the beginning of the rainy season a risky business, as we are all aware, and therefore jeopardizes the timetable for the operation as a whole. I have already referred to the budgetary consequences which such a delay would entail, but there is something more serious, to our mind: a hasty or insufficient mine-clearance operation would seriously endanger the safety of the population, of the members of UNTAC and of the Cambodian refugees who will participate in the elections. This is an aspect of the plan on which, it seems to me, we cannot compromise, and it is in this context, as members will understand, that my delegation fully supports paragraph 6 of the resolution, which calls on the parties to do all in their power so that the safety of participants in the UNTAC operation be guaranteed to the maximum extent.

The hazards and the doubts which an operation of such magnitude will inevitably entail must not, however, make us forget the heart of the matter: thanks to the Paris Agreements, thanks to United Nations action, the Cambodian

(Mr. van Daele, Belgium)

people should be able to exercise its right to self-determination through free and fair elections run and monitored by the United Nations. They should be able to benefit from respect for human rights. They should, at last, be able to turn the page, once and for all, on one of the darkest chapters in its history.

This is particularly important for a country such as mine, which was among the first to be publicly concerned over a possible return to Cambodia of the policies and practices of the recent past. I say so in order to emmphasise the importance my country attaches to the sixth preambular paragraph of our resolution.

For all the above reasons, Belgium associates itself fully with the adoption of the resolution we have just approved.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset, allow me to express my deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for the report he submitted to us on 19 February and for the information and statement he offered us here this morning, with which we fully concur.

Let me also express my thanks to Mr. Ahmed and Mr. Akashi for the efforts they have made, and will certainly continue to make, to ensure that the Cambodian operation is successful.

The resolution just adopted unanimously by the Security Council represents a very important step in the long and difficult peace-making process in Cambodia. Modern history records no other case to equal the suffering and human adversity experienced by the Cambodian people over the last two decades. There is no case like it in which the internal struggle for political power has taken such a toll and has had such tragic consequences as the one which took place in that country. The road to reconciliation has therefore not been easy and has encountered many pitfalls.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

However, and fortunately for the lot of millions of innocent Cambodians who seek only peace in their country, once dialogue between the parties had begun, very significant achievements were reached. In effect, once the framework had been proposed for a broad political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, which was endorsed by the parties when they signed the Paris Agreements, there was a rebirth of hope among the Cambodian people that peace would be achieved and their society renewed through the exercise of democracy and mutual understanding. Thanks to this, the cease-fire was made possible, as were the formation of the Supreme National Council and the designation of legitimate authorities recognized by all the factions seriously committed to the process begun in Paris. Another important achievement was the establishment of the United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC).

The resolution just adopted by the Council is not only a further step in that process but is also the most resolute step towards the effective implementation of the Paris Agreements through a broad and complex programme that is unprecedented in the United Nations. Effectively, the plan encompasses a range of functions and responsibilities that exceed the traditional activities of the United Nations. This is so of the electoral assistance, and even more so of the actual administration of the State. The task to be carried out by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) is, as a result, enormous and sensitive. Its success will depend, as the Secretary-General told us, on the will of the Cambodian parties to fulfil the Paris Agreements and on the support the United Nations can continuously provide to UNTAC.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

It is important to stress that the United Nations presence in Cambodia derives essentially from the express consent of the Cambodian people and all its political components. If this necessary condition had not been met, there could have been no UNTAC.

The implementation of the plan in Cambodia will be costly and, together with other peace-keeping operations recently approved, is a heavy economic burden for all Member States. The increase in peace-keeping operations and the growing and successful participation of the United Nations in solving problems in various parts of the world, which we warmly welcome, make it a matter of urgency for us thoroughly to examine the situation and the methods whereby this kind of operation is financed, and each and every one of the Members of our Organization should participate actively in the examination.

The delegation of Ecuador is aware of the serious and sensitive nature of the Cambodian conflict, and we view this action of the Council as a necessary response by the international community to the recent traumatic experience of the Cambodian people. In this, as in all other cases dealt with by the Security Council, Ecuador derives inspiration for its actions from its deep-rooted peaceful, legal and humanitarian traditions. Ecuador therefore voted in favour of this resolution, and supports the complex plan for peace and reconciliation in the conviction that we are thus contributing positively to the establishment of a new, democratic and fraternal Cambodia.

Mr. ZENENGA (Zimbabwe): We wish to congratulate the Secretary-General and his team, as well as those Member States which contributed to the work that culminated in the signing of the Paris Agreements last October and in the preparation of an implementation plan that, despite its scope and magnitude, is both appropriate and practical.

(Mr. Zenenga, Zimbabwe)

That the Paris Agreements were signed, and that Cambodia is now on what we have every reason to hope is an irreversible road to lasting peace and normalcy, is testimony to the mounting credibility and growing list of achievements of our Organization in the field of peace-making and peace-keeping.

(Mr. Zenenga, Zimbabwe)

Zimbabwe has no illusions with regard to the magnitude of the task that lies ahead in the implementation of the plan we have just approved. The carefully calculated timetable and tasks for this peace-keeping and transitional operation must be executed with precision and delicacy. As the largest and most costly operation of its kind in the history of United Nations peace-keeping activities, with so many components and factors to take into consideration, we trust that it will not be unwieldy and that all parties concerned will cooperate in the plan's implementation.

Our memories are also seared with the recent tragic history of Cambodia. It is our fervent hope, therefore, that the new Cambodia will be free from those policies and practices that resulted in the turmoil whose end we are now witnessing. We look forward to the periodic reports by the Secretary-General on the implementation of the resolution, and join in the calls to all Member States to assist in any way they can in the rehabilitation of Cambodia, especially with regard to the resettlement of refugees and displaced persons.

Finally, the mammoth cost of implementing the plan is at the forefront of our consideration. Although we feel that no price is too great for peace, we hope that in the appropriate forums of our Organization ways and means of reducing this cost will be found to everyone's satisfaction. We are painfully aware that other conflicts still exist where our Organization will be called upon to launch similar operations, and therefore realize the need to conserve our resources for this purpose as much as possible.

The PRESIDENT: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the United States.

(The President)

The United States welcomes the unanimous adoption of resolution 7455 (1992) establishing the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). We also welcome the statement the Secretary-General made here this morning. This long-awaited step constitutes a landmark in the arduous effort over the course of many years to secure a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian conflict. The United States and Cambodia's many other friends have held as our paramount objectives the achievement of a just and durable peace, offering the Cambodian people the right to choose their own leaders through free and fair elections, and the safeguarding of human rights in a country where those rights have been so tragically abused. The Agreements on a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian conflict, signed on 23 October in Paris, reserved for the United Nations a central role in helping to secure these and the other objectives of the settlement, and they form the basis for the Council's action today.

I would like to commend you, Mr. Secretary-General, for the strong personal interest you have taken in the elaboration of the plan by which the United Nations will discharge its responsibilities. Your plan is faithful to the spirit and the letter of the Paris Agreements. My Government also welcomes the appointment of an experienced and capable individual, Mr. Yasushi Akashi, to serve as your Special Representative for Cambodia and as head of UNTAC. We hope that the deployment of UNTAC can now proceed rapidly in order to preserve the settlement and to ensure that the operation will achieve the prompt administration of free and fair elections within the timeframe indicated in your report.

(The President)

The Cambodia settlement, I believe, is a success which legitimately can be said to have many fathers. I will not attempt to recount the contributions of those from many countries who can rightfully claim parentage, but I would like to extend a word of sincere gratitude for the leadership of former Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, for the tireless efforts of Under-Secretary-General Rafeeuddin Ahmed, and for the contributions of many talented and dedicated members of the United Nations Secretariat.

Essential also to the settlement, as well as to the implementation of the United Nations plan, is the spirit of cooperation among the Cambodians, made possible by the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. His steadfast support and the active cooperation of the Cambodian leaders and people, who have placed their trust in the United Nations, are vital to the success of UNTAC's mission.

The path ahead will not be easy; much urgent and difficult work remains to be done. It is clear that the generous support and constant attention of the international community will be required in order to fulfil the objectives of the settlement. We wholeheartedly welcome the Secretary-General's intention continually to review and refine UNTAC's operation in the light of actual experience and new information, with a view to maximum effectiveness and the most efficient use of resources. We welcome the announcement of his intended visit to Cambodia, particularly in that regard. I believe that the United States can make a significant contribution to this effort, which is essential in view of the immense cost and scale of the operation. The United States pledges to work closely with the Secretary-General and his staff, as well as with other Security Council members and interested countries, over the

(The President)

coming weeks and throughout the course of the operation. We are convinced that increasing the efficiency of UNTAC, and thereby reducing its cost, will benefit both the operation and the Organization.

The United States has watched with deep satisfaction the increasing development of global cooperation, which in turn has given rise to expectations that the United Nations will at last assume responsibilities commensurate with the vision of its founders. Nowhere is the full scope and import of that vision more evident than in the mandate approved today for a United Nations presence in Cambodia. The United Nations is now poised to begin an enterprise of extraordinary size, scope and expense. Our experience in Cambodia will likely help shape for years to come perceptions of the United Nations as an effective instrument for addressing regional conflict and of the viability of its principle of collective security. We do not underestimate this challenge, but instead resolve to meet it with determination and imagination.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

There are no further speakers on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.05 p.m.